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581 Marriage, then, in the regime that is in force among these tribes, is a social institution intended to ensure the perpetuity of the tribe. Its aim is not to consider the particular interests of the individuals: tendencies to perpetuate themselves, affectionate inclinations, sedatio concupiscentiae, or others. For this reason, in the realization of the matrimonial act, it would be more accurate to say of the matrimonial contract, the will of the individuals, which in the rest of native life has such an ample field, is not consulted. /382/ On the subject of marriage, one again has a great deal of evidence of the "absorption of the individuals by the group," which characterizes the tribes of the Uaupés. Almost every act of native practice gives confirmation that among them there are no individuals, there are only members, there are no persons, there are only cells of the social body. The individual's own will does not seem to know how to want anything except what the group wants!

b) Concept of modesty.

291 834 829 562 It is difficult to answer these three questions: 1st -- whether the Indian really has an idea of modesty; 2nd -- how he shows it, whether through clothes or paintings; 3rd -- which might be the delicate part.

In front of the civilized, the attitude of respect and circumspection that they show, especially the women, is remarkable. An attitude all the more perfected the more frequent their contact with the civilized.

While the men appear, with the utmost ease and without any shame, with only their "Waxsó-ro" or sex-cover in front of the whites, be these men or women, the Indian women nowadays only appear clothed, or at least with a skirt, rarely a short petticoat /Port. saiote/ or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/. Among themselves, however, they do not observe such circumspection. The civilized has many proofs that the woman has dressed in order

/382 cont./
291 to receive him (104):
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> 104. In Montfort, river Papurí, an old woman, upon returning from the clearing dressed in a skirt and loaded with her aturá /carrying basket/ full of mandiocas, thinking that she was not observed, took off the skirt, jumped out of the canoe, washed the roots on the beach, and later, with the skirt in her hand, she proceeded toward her house, bending under the weight of the aturá.

Wallace already pointed that out a century ago. Many times, upon approaching unexpectedly, the civilized perceives a scurrying of women toward some dark corner of the maloca or to the neighboring forest, in order to get dressed. During the work in the clearing the women are ordinarily naked. Frequently they leave their skirts in the canoe, at the landing place on some stream where they disembarked in going to the clearing.

291 Many tribes went around completely naked, testify the first
562 explorers, such as Padre Acuña (1637). The Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ Pe. José M. de Noronha (1759), speaking about the Tecuna nation, writes: -- "Their women do not have any modesty. The males, however, cover the parts intended for generation, with wide fringes made out of thread twisted from certain white tow which they extract from the bark of wood" ("Roteiro /Logbook/," n. 139).
*[192] The Poet Gonçalves Dias, who was a School Inspector in Amazonas, writes: -- "The men, who among them seem to be the most modest, wear on the Uaupés something like suspensories, to which they give the name of cueios, similar to or an imitation of the tocambobas /383/ of the primitive Tupis. In imitation of them, the women also wear today some cueios of beads (puericueios)." (Manaus, October 23, 1861 -- Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas, Vol. II, p. 760.) /In the original source, the end of the last sentence of footnote 104 is repeated here as the last sentence of the paragraph. This sentence is omitted here in the translation./

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*[192]

/footnote 106 cont./ nowadays rarely wear Wáxsó-ro, not even as a dance ornament. Some persons declared to us that they had never seen a feminine Waxsó-ro made of glass beads, the Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro, and that the women always walked around destitute of clothing.

302 About the paintings, we know that they consider them only as adornment.

As for the delicate parts, it does not seem that they are the
291 breasts. As a matter of fact, some appear with the bust uncovered
302 without bashfulness. During the dances they decorate the breasts
• 834 with red circles, which still remain for several days. And there is no great circumspection with the legs either, because, when they sit down or squat, they draw the skirt between the legs, but leave the legs and thighs uncovered.

[178] It seems that they are impressed more by the persons' bust, hence the greater care on the part of the natives, even those who already have /384/ relations with the civilized, in having it uncovered and painted for the dances (107),.

107. Without perceiving that she was being observed (so it seems to us), we were able to note a young Bará woman, soon after the rite of her puberty initiation, absorbed in painting her own breasts, with the red powder of carajurú /carajura/, which she had wrapped in a leaf. A little girl of about 5 or 6 years of age at once tried to imitate her, with similar designs.

perhaps while the rest of the body is covered with pants or skirt.
[832] Some natives assured us positively of the attraction that the men feel by the women's bust.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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the common expression *hápyako* (listen!). It would not be correct to say that children "seal the marriage." Children, however, do give a marriage its full status. Until her first child is born a wife may remain as part of her mother-in-law's household. Thereafter she automatically achieves her independence, with her own garden and her own hearth. The equality of the spouse terms is also significant, corresponding to the economic and symbolic complementarity of male and female, husband and wife. Although an outsider in a patrilineal and patrilocal sib, the Cubeo wife is not "inferior" to her husband

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The relationship between husband and wife depends largely upon personal factors, to be sure. Still, there are some cultural standards for the people to follow. One of these is the keeping of physical distance in public. One does not observe among the *Bahúkiwa* informal or spontaneous gestures of intimacy between husband and wife. They rarely touch one another in public. This lack of physical contact is all the more marked because the Cubeo are in other respects a tactile people. Men embrace one another, women caress one another, and at drinking parties there is a certain amount of heterosexual body contact. But even then, husband and wife keep their distance. There are, however, specific public gestures of intimacy between husband and wife, but these are formal and are in the nature of obligations. A woman applies decorative paint to her husband, delouses his head, and scrapes insect scabs from his skin. These are all intimate gestures to the Cubeo. They are done in public and only in preparation for a ceremony.

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The marital relationship is to be understood, I believe, as falling within the range of respect behavior appropriate to members of different phratries. It is incumbent upon the man, furthermore, to uphold his solidarity with his male sibmates by imposing public distance upon his wife. Male solidarity begins early in life and, in any case, is not readily yielded up after marriage. There is a relationship, as well, between connubial distance, as we may call it, and the frequency of tribal exogamy. In many marriages husband and wife cannot even understand one another fully because they speak different dialects or languages. It would seem that the pattern of connubial distance helps make such marriages more tolerable since there is no expectation of sudden intimacy. Lack of privacy makes it easy for public pressure to enforce the rule of distance.

With time, of course, husband and wife develop more ease, more intimacy, and more affection for one another. These new relationships will be revealed in manner of address and facial expression rather than by touch.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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684 Technical incest, that is, incest outside the nuclear household, does occur and is not necessarily regarded seriously. A man told me that his sib sister, having become a widow, returned home. An ardent woman, she made sexual advances to him. He then told the headman that his sib sister had seduced him. The headman scolded the woman and hastily arranged for her marriage to an elderly *Tatúyo*. In the case of close incest, that is, within the extended family, the offenders are driven out of the sib. I learned of no cases.

[754] Adultery is a common offense and is not very serious unless com-
[562] pounded by fears of sorcery. Only the man will be suspected of sorcery, never the woman. Since it is the women who are commonly regarded as the seducers and the men as innocent victims, the consequences of adultery are apt to be little more than a heated quarrel. An adulterous woman may receive a thrashing either from the husband or from her parents-in-law. In charges of adultery a headman, concerned first with harmony in the sib, seeks to placate feelings by emphasizing the culpability of the woman. The following example illustrates this. At a drinking party among the *Bahúkiwa*, when intoxication was at its peak some hours before dawn, the headman suddenly began to berate a man of the sib for adultery, accusing him of having seduced the young wife of his (the headman's) son. The son himself did not enter into the controversy, but he explained quietly to those about him that his wife was too passionate. Whereupon the headman shifted his attention to the young woman and began to scold her for wearing love charms in her hair and for enticing men. Then, his anger rising, he slapped the girl sharply in the face. The accused sibman, now ignored, moved away unconcerned. The young wife, for her part, showed no distress at being slapped. A few minutes later she was as flirtatious as ever, this time with another man. The headman, still wrathful, delivered a lecture on the proprieties of married life, remarking that it is not fit for a wife to request coitus; she must wait for her husband. The next day a younger unmarried daughter of the headman was assigned to chaperon the errant wife, a task she accomplished with suitable diligence.

684 622 614 574 684 622 834 883

684 The Cubeo regard a woman as unruly and are almost prepared to accept her adultery as inevitable. Nevertheless, an adulteress is reviled as "a woman without shame." A husband's chagrin and anger
[562] at his wife's adultery are softened somewhat by tales of *Kúwai*'s diffi-
[773] culties with adulterous wives. In one tale, however, *Kúwai* crushes his wife against a tree after she has copulated with a snake in her manioc garden.

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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yavi* or *pariékakü*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yavi*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yavi*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duvalyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhókükü* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokúwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenddox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhúkükü* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[4] (6) *kúria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuriákü* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duvalyo*, the *hokúwe*, and the *kenddox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[4] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.